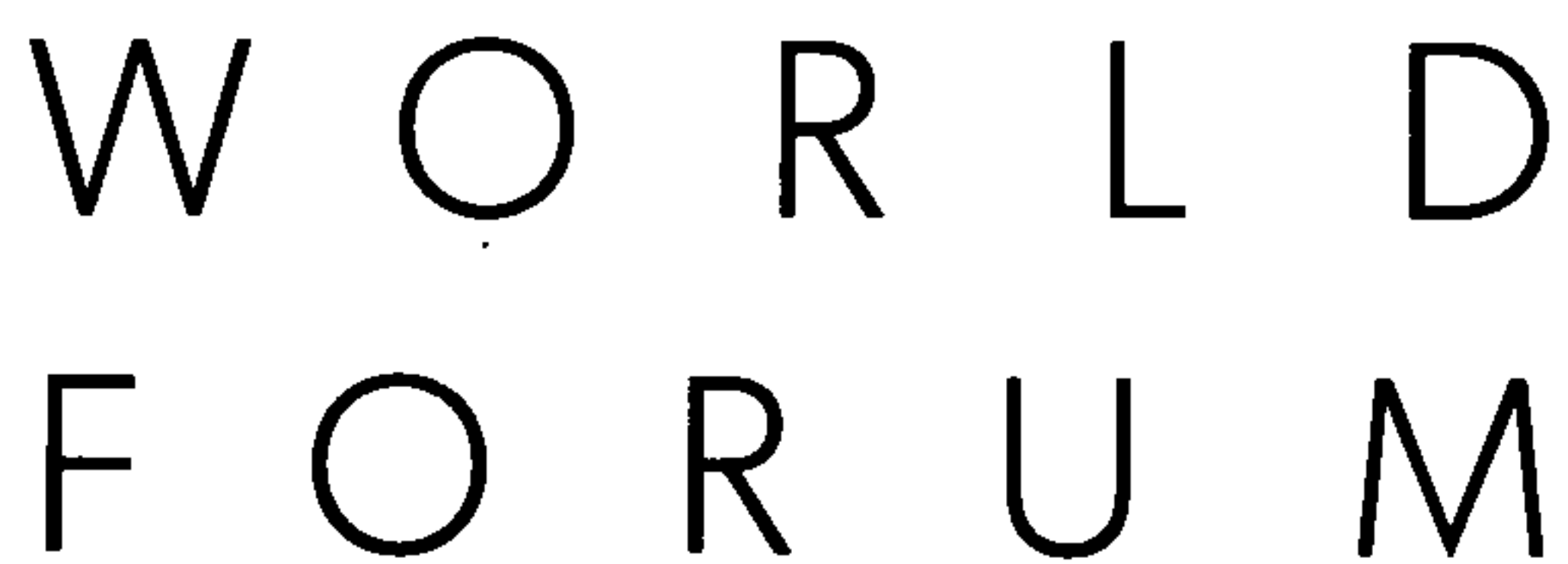


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**Form RE-3**



MARCH 9-12, 2017 | SEA ISLAND, GEORGIA

**Thursday, March 9**

All Day	Registration	The Cloister
6:00–7:00 p.m.	Reception	The Beach Club
6:30–6:45 p.m.	Introduction Tully Friedman	
	Welcome Arthur Brooks	
7:15–8:15 p.m.	Dinner	The Beach Club
8:30–9:30 p.m.	Starlight Chats	The Cloister
	Please select one from the options below:	
	<b>Happiness Is Not Enough: Why a Joyful Life Is Better</b>	
	David Brooks	
	Introduction: Charles Murray	
	<b>History Is Back—and This Time It's Personal</b>	
	Jonah Goldberg	
	Introduction: Ramesh Ponnuru	

**Friday, March 10.**

Shuttles will run between the Cloister, Beach Club, and Ocean Villas every day between 6:45 a.m. and 11:00 p.m. For pickup from your room, dial x5701.

7:30–8:30 a.m. **Early Bird Breakfasts** The Cloister  
Please select one from the options below:  
**Results-Driven Charity: How to Empower the Most Vulnerable Among Us**  
John Arnold  
Laura Arnold  
George Roberts  
Linnea Roberts  
Robert Doar (moderator)

**A Conversation About How to Cover Politics**  
James Bennet  
Paul Gigot  
Introduction: Bill Kristol

8:45–10:15 a.m. **Breakout Sessions** The Cloister  
Please select one from the options below:  
**Islamism: ISIS, al Qaeda, and the Grip of Extremism on the Muslim Mind**  
Yousef Al Otaiba  
Shadi Hamid  
Bruce Hoffman  
Graeme Wood  
Frederick Kagan (moderator)  
Even as we fight ISIS, al Qaeda and associated groups are spreading. Where are they? And what explains the grip these Islamist extremists have on the peoples of the Middle East? Is it Islam or something deeper?

**Making Incomes Grow Again**  
Martin Feldstein  
Jason Furman  
Glenn Hubbard  
Gene Sperling  
Kevin Warsh  
Mark Zandi  
James Pethokoukis (moderator)  
Overall economic growth is slow, along with household income growth. The mysterious decline in productivity growth is a major threat to long-term prosperity. The Fed has taken extraordinary measures to help the economy, but the effectiveness of monetary policy remains in doubt. What is the cause of this malaise? Can Congress speed up productivity and income growth? Is monetary policy tapped out—or, even worse, counter-productive? Is slow growth a reality of the 21st century that policy cannot effectively address, or can policy put the economy on a better course?

As of March 9, 2017

## Russian Information Warfare: The Weaponization of Fake News and Hacks

Scott Carpenter  
Michael Hayden  
Andrei Soldatov  
Leon Aron (moderator)

Russian interference in the US presidential election illustrated that hacks and fake news can erode the legitimacy of Western democracies and undermine the post-WWII world order. How potent are the Kremlin's cyber tools? How can the US and its allies deter future cyberattacks and meddling in their internal politics? Mikhail Khodorkovsky, Russia's most famous political prisoner and founder of Open Russia, will open the discussion with his insights on the Putin regime.

Doug Ducey  
Eric Greitens  
Michael Strain  
Stan Veuger  
Eckart von Klaeden  
Andrew Smarick (moderator)

Why do we insist that all young people go to college when so many promising career paths do not require a four-year degree? We have saddled millions of young adults with college debt to pay for an education the market does not reward. This panel will rethink our approach to technical and other skills-based models of education and offer new ideas for reforming higher education into a dynamic system that offers more Americans promising professional options.

General Session      The Cloister Ballroom

## Debate: David Brooks vs. Michael Gove

Robert Barro  
John Bolton  
Phil Gramm  
George Osborne  
Gene Sperling  
Stan Veuger

A new era of populism is sweeping the globe. Why? Is this good news? Bad news? What are the economic, diplomatic, and societal consequences? Is this an anomaly or the new normal? Where will we see the next populist revolt?

Danielle Pletka and Michael Strain (moderators)

Luncheon The Beach Club

Interviewer: Arthur Brooks

Afternoon Sessions                      The Cloister

Please select one from the options below:

Interviewer: James Bennet

Automation, machine learning, and artificial intelligence offer exciting frontiers for improving the human experience—and have the potential to upend the labor market and dislocate millions of workers. How is technology remaking the world of work?

### Trade, China, and the Outlook for Trump Administration Policy:

**A Conversation with Peter Navarro and Derek Scissors Moderated by Dan Blumenthal**

Donald Trump pledged to dramatically transform US trade policy as part of revitalizing American manufacturing. Much of the debate about this shift in strategy has centered on China. Is the trade deficit with China detrimental to the US economy? Is Chinese currency manipulation a concern? More generally, how will the Trump administration approach China, a security competitor and key trading partner?

Reception The Cloister

Dinner Conversation      The Cloister

## A Conversation with Michael R. Bloomberg

Interviewer: Robert Doar

6:45–8:15 p.m.	Dinner	The Cloister
8:30–9:30 p.m.	Starlight Chats	The Cloister
	Please select one from the options below:	
	<b>Feeling Good vs. Doing Good: How Not to Waste Trillions to Make the World Better</b>	
	Bjorn Lomborg	
	Introduction: Marc Thiessen	
	<b>The Existential Challenge Facing America's Elites</b>	
	Charles Murray	
	Introduction: George Will	

Shuttles will run between the Cloister, Beach Club, and Ocean Villas between 4:30 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. For pickup from your room, dial x5701.

## Saturday, March 11

Shuttles will run between the Cloister, Beach Club, and Ocean Villas every day between 6:45 a.m. and 11:00 p.m. For pickup from your room, dial x5701.

7:30–8:30 a.m.	<p>Early Bird Breakfasts                      The Cloister</p> <p>Please select one from the options below:</p> <p><b>A Conversation with Jamie Dimon</b></p> <p>Interviewer: Arthur Brooks</p> <p><b>What the Nation Misses When Conservatism Is Missing</b></p> <p>George Will</p> <p>Introduction: Mitch McConnell</p>						
8:45–10:15 a.m.	<p>Breakout Sessions                      The Cloister</p> <p>Please select one from the options below:</p> <p><b>Congress and the States: Policy Challenges at Home</b></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="579 1558 973 1883"> <p>Susan Collins</p> <p>John Delaney</p> <p>Virginia Foxx</p> <p>Cathy McMorris Rodgers</p> <p>Jimmy Panetta</p> <p>David Perdue</p> <p>Scott Walker</p> <p>Ryan Streeter (moderator)</p> </td><td data-bbox="973 1558 1714 1883"> <p>Better domestic policy is needed to tackle America's complex challenges. Transportation, infrastructure development, education, and care for the disabled are just a few. In an era of globalization and technological change, how can we ensure our domestic workforce is prepared and able to thrive? How can Congress and the president make the economy work again for average Americans and create more opportunity for all? Join us for a discussion with elected leaders to learn what is happening in Congress and the states on these important issues.</p> </td></tr> </table> <p><b>The Future of Dodd-Frank and Financial Regulation</b></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="579 1990 973 2222"> <p>Phil Gramm</p> <p>Jeb Hensarling</p> <p>Glenn Hubbard</p> <p>George Osborne</p> <p>Peter Wallison</p> <p>Kevin Hassett (moderator)</p> </td><td data-bbox="973 1990 1714 2222"> <p>The Trump administration has taken steps to roll back Obama-era financial regulations, including a measure aimed directly at the Dodd-Frank Act. What is the future of Dodd-Frank? And of financial regulation on the whole?</p> </td></tr> </table> <p><b>Is America's Foreign Policy in Crisis?</b></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="579 2316 973 2624"> <p>Joni Ernst</p> <p>Mike Gallagher</p> <p>Adam Kinzinger</p> <p>Seth Moulton</p> <p>Devin Nunes</p> <p>Marco Rubio</p> <p>Mac Thornberry</p> <p>Jon Kyl (moderator)</p> </td><td data-bbox="973 2316 1714 2624"> <p>The postwar international order is deteriorating rapidly, and America's will and capabilities have been called into question by allies and adversaries alike. How will the Trump administration and Congress rebuild the military and repair America's alliances? Can America pursue an "America first" foreign policy while continuing to lead the world toward greater freedom and safety? Will it?</p> </td></tr> </table>	<p>Susan Collins</p> <p>John Delaney</p> <p>Virginia Foxx</p> <p>Cathy McMorris Rodgers</p> <p>Jimmy Panetta</p> <p>David Perdue</p> <p>Scott Walker</p> <p>Ryan Streeter (moderator)</p>	<p>Better domestic policy is needed to tackle America's complex challenges. Transportation, infrastructure development, education, and care for the disabled are just a few. In an era of globalization and technological change, how can we ensure our domestic workforce is prepared and able to thrive? How can Congress and the president make the economy work again for average Americans and create more opportunity for all? Join us for a discussion with elected leaders to learn what is happening in Congress and the states on these important issues.</p>	<p>Phil Gramm</p> <p>Jeb Hensarling</p> <p>Glenn Hubbard</p> <p>George Osborne</p> <p>Peter Wallison</p> <p>Kevin Hassett (moderator)</p>	<p>The Trump administration has taken steps to roll back Obama-era financial regulations, including a measure aimed directly at the Dodd-Frank Act. What is the future of Dodd-Frank? And of financial regulation on the whole?</p>	<p>Joni Ernst</p> <p>Mike Gallagher</p> <p>Adam Kinzinger</p> <p>Seth Moulton</p> <p>Devin Nunes</p> <p>Marco Rubio</p> <p>Mac Thornberry</p> <p>Jon Kyl (moderator)</p>	<p>The postwar international order is deteriorating rapidly, and America's will and capabilities have been called into question by allies and adversaries alike. How will the Trump administration and Congress rebuild the military and repair America's alliances? Can America pursue an "America first" foreign policy while continuing to lead the world toward greater freedom and safety? Will it?</p>
<p>Susan Collins</p> <p>John Delaney</p> <p>Virginia Foxx</p> <p>Cathy McMorris Rodgers</p> <p>Jimmy Panetta</p> <p>David Perdue</p> <p>Scott Walker</p> <p>Ryan Streeter (moderator)</p>	<p>Better domestic policy is needed to tackle America's complex challenges. Transportation, infrastructure development, education, and care for the disabled are just a few. In an era of globalization and technological change, how can we ensure our domestic workforce is prepared and able to thrive? How can Congress and the president make the economy work again for average Americans and create more opportunity for all? Join us for a discussion with elected leaders to learn what is happening in Congress and the states on these important issues.</p>						
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8:45-10:15 a.m.

## Policies for Disruption: The Innovation Economy

Michael Burgess  
Elaine Chao  
Deb Fischer  
Cory Gardner  
Kevin McCarthy  
Fred Upton  
James Pethokoukis (moderator)

We stand at the threshold of a technological revolution. Driverless cars seem to be in reach, new technologies hold the promise of revolutionizing medical care, and Silicon Valley has become synonymous with disruptive, welfare-improving innovation. But there are perils, as well as promise. Cyber threats loom large in the policy debate, and securing personal data is a major challenge for America's companies. Protecting critical infrastructure, including the US financial system, has become a major focus of government. How should public policy meet today's technological advances, ensuring their promise while mitigating their risks?

10:30 a.m.–Noon

## General Session

## America's Immigration Moment

Karlyn Bowman  
Doug Ducey  
Nick Eberstadt  
Danielle Pletka  
Ramesh Ponnuru  
Mark Zandi  
John Dickerson (moderator)

### The Cloister Ballroom

The topic of immigration divided the American public in multiple ways during the 2016 election. Recent events have made the issue only more volatile. One thing that most can agree on is that our immigration policy is not what it should be. Are low-skilled immigrants depressing wages for American workers, and what should we do? Would more high-skilled immigrants increase economic opportunity for more American workers? What do we need to do about the border and sanctuary cities if we are to be a nation of laws when it comes to immigration? If immigrants pose a threat to national security, is the current administration's approach the right one? Participants will discuss these and related issues in an interactive setting with the panelists and moderator.

12:15-1:45 p.m.

## Luncheon

## A Conversation with President George W. Bush

Moderator: Arthur Brooks

## The Beach Club

2:00-3:15 p.m.

## Breakout Sessions

Please select one from the options below:

## The Future of Warfare

T. Michael Moseley  
William Roper  
Eric Schmidt  
Mackenzie Eaglen (moderator)

What once seemed like science fiction looks increasingly more like mere science. But the US government no longer has a lock on innovation as it did from the 1940s through the 1980s. As a result, across all domains of fighting and between the commercial and military sectors, innovation is happening at lightning speed. And you do not know about most of it.

## Life Beyond Bars

Lisa Blunt Rochester  
John Cornyn  
Mike Lee  
Daniel S. Loeb  
Stan Veuger  
Gerard Robinson (moderator)

This year, more than 600,000 individuals will leave prison and return to communities across America. Almost one-third will be rearrested in their first year out, more than three-quarters in five years. But the nation's recidivism problem starts well before prisoners leave prison. Many of the 2.3 million behind bars today lack a high school diploma. Even fewer have a postsecondary degree or occupational certificate. They are more familiar with navigating the criminal justice system than the world of work and achievement. This panel will look at what works to improve economic prospects for returning citizens and the well-being of the families waiting for their return.

## Escaping Poverty

Angus Deaton  
Robert Doar  
Deidre McCloskey  
Michael Strain  
Scott Walker  
James Pethokoukis (moderator)

The most successful effort to alleviate poverty in human history has been underway slowly, over centuries. This effort is not a government program or charitable mission. It is, instead, the liberalization of markets spurred by culture. How did Europe lift itself up from poverty centuries ago? How are China, India, and Africa lifting themselves up from poverty today? By what process is sustainable, long-term wealth and enrichment created? And what lessons can we learn from this to apply to public policy in America today?

2:00-3:15 p.m.

## President Trump and the Future of Economic Policy

Scott Gottlieb  
Kevin Hassett  
Paul Ryan  
Gene Sperling  
Greg Walden  
Bret Baier (moderator)

President Trump has promised sweeping changes to US economic policy. How are those changes progressing? Now that the president is in office, what does the future hold for the Affordable Care Act's replacement and tax reform? Hear from key members of Congress.

5:30-6:00 p.m.

## Reception

## The Cloister

6:00-7:00 p.m.

### Dinner Conversation

## The Cloister

**A Conversation with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and Speaker of the House**

**Paul Ryan**

Moderator: Paul Gigot

7:15-8:45 p.m.

## Dinner

## The Cloister

9:00-10:00 p.m.

## Starlight Chat

### The Cloister Ballroom

## Life Lessons from the World's Greatest Composers

Arthur Brooks

Introduction: Daniel A. D'Aniello

Shuttles will run between the Cloister, Beach Club, and Ocean Villas between 4:30 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. For pickup from your room, dial x5701.

## Sunday, March 12

Shuttles will run between the Cloister, Beach Club, and Ocean Villas between 6:45 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. For pickup from your room, dial x5701.

8:30–10:00 a.m.

### Early Bird Breakfasts

## The Cloister

Please select one from the options below:

**A Conversation on Health Care with Secretary Tom Price, M.D.**

Moderator: Marc Thiessen

## The Future of the Court

John Cornyn  
Jeff Flake  
Lindsey Graham  
Ben Sasse  
Ramesh Ponnuru (moderator)

Procedural questions in the Senate have created turmoil around Supreme Court confirmations. In President Obama's last year in office, the Senate did not confirm his final nominee. In his first month in office, President Trump has nominated a jurist in Neil Gorsuch, who many conservatives believe is a worthy successor to the late Justice Scalia. Given the new confirmation environment, what is the future of the Court? And what should we expect from President Trump's future nominations to the federal bench?

SECRET

SECRET

MITCH MCCONNELL	Senate Majority Leader (R-KY)
CATHY MCMORRIS RODGERS	US House of Representatives (R-WA)
T. MICHAEL MOSELEY	Chief of Staff, US Air Force (retired)
SETH MOULTON	US House of Representatives (D-MA)
PETER NAVARRO	Director of Trade and Industrial Policy, The White House
DEVIN NUNES	US House of Representatives (R-CA)
GEORGE OSBORNE	UK Member of Parliament
JIMMY PANETTA	US House of Representatives (D-CA)
DAVID PERDUE	US Senate (R-GA)
TOM PRICE	US Secretary of Health and Human Services
STEPHEN RADEMAKER	Principal, Podesta Group
WILLIAM ROPER	Director, Strategic Capabilities Office, US Department of Defense
MARCO RUBIO	US Senate (R-FL)
PAUL RYAN	Speaker, US House of Representatives (R-WI)
BEN SASSE	US Senate (R-NE)
MARTIN SELIGMAN	Director, Positive Psychology Center, University of Pennsylvania
ANDREI SOLDATOV	Cofounder, Agentura.ru
GENE SPERLING	Former Director, National Economic Council
BARRY STRAUSS	Professor, Cornell University
MAC THORNBERRY	US House of Representatives (R-TX)
FRED UPTON	US House of Representatives (R-MI)
GREG WALDEN	US House of Representatives (R-OR)
SCOTT WALKER	Governor of Wisconsin
KEVIN WARSH	Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution
GEORGE F. WILL	Columnist, <i>Washington Post</i>
GRAEME WOOD	National Correspondent, <i>Atlantic</i>
MARK ZANDI	Chief Economist, Moody's Analytics

## ATTENDEES

ALLI & BILL ACHTMAYER	Parthenon-EY
RENEE G. & SUMNER E. ANDERSON	
CHRISTIAN P. ANSCHUTZ	Western Development Group
NANCY & PHILIP ANSCHUTZ	The Anschutz Corporation
LAURA & JOHN ARNOLD	Laura and John Arnold Foundation
LAUREL & CLIFF ASNESS	AQR Capital Management
GORDON BINDER	Coastview Capital LLC
MICHAEL R. BLOOMBERG	Bloomberg LP and Bloomberg Philanthropies
ANGELA & DOUG BRALY	The Braly Group
KENNETH F. BROAD	Jackson Square Partners LLC
W. R. BYRD	RCP Inc.
DIANA & ERIC CANTOR	Alternative Investment Management LLC/Moelis & Company
LIZA-MAE & MARK CARLIN	Lockton Partners LLC
SUSAN F. & ROBERT H. CASTELLINI	Cincinnati Reds
DAN T. CATHY	Chick-fil-A Inc.
NANCY & GARY CHARTRAND	The Chartrand Foundation/Acosta Inc.
MARY C. & ARMEANE M. CHOKSI	Strategic Investment Management LLC/Option 3 Ventures LLC
STEVEN A. COHEN	Point72 Asset Management LP

ED CONARD	<i>New York Times</i> Bestselling Author/Bain Capital (former)
SIGNE OSTBY & SCOTT COOK	Intuit Inc.
TIM COOK	Apple Inc.
MARILYN & PETE COORS	Molson Coors Brewing Company
KELLY & JOE CRAFT	Alliance Resource Partners LP
KATHY & HARLAN CROW	Crow Holdings
BOYKIN CURRY	Eagle Capital Management LLC
RAVENEL CURRY	Eagle Capital Management LLC
MARK DALTON	Tudor Investment Corporation
DANIEL A. D'ANIELLO	The Carlyle Group
MARY LOU DIEZ & JOHN H. DASBURG	ASTAR Air Cargo
PILAR & LEW DAVIES	The Cambria Group
KIM DENNIS	Searle Freedom Trust
BETSY & DICK DEVOS	The Windquest Group
ANNIE DICKERSON	The Paul E. Singer Family Office
MARINA & RIC DILLON	Diamond Hill Investment Group Inc.
JAMIE DIMON	JPMorgan Chase & Company
JIM DONOVAN	The Goldman Sachs Group Inc.
JESSICA B. JOHNSON & MICHAEL J. DOWNER	Capital Research and Management Company
BRITTANY & KURT DUDAS	Physician/Ehrenkranz Partners
LISA MARIE BONGIOVANNI & BOB ECKERT	Mattel Inc.
JEAN & CHRIS EGAN	Carruth Capital LLC
JULIA HARRIS & BEHDAD EGHBALI	Clearlake Capital Group
MISTIE & MARTIN ELTRICH	AEA Investors LP
HEATH & JOHN FARACI	International Paper Company
SEAN FIELER	Equinox Partners LP
PAUL J. FINNEGAN	MADISON DEARBORN Partners LLC
CALLA & SPENCER FLEISCHER	FFL Partners LLC
ELIZABETH & TROY FOWLER	Triad Foundation Inc.
STELLA & JOEL FREEDMAN	Paladin Healthcare Capital LLC
ELISE & TULLY FRIEDMAN	FFL Partners LLC
CINDY & CHRISTOPHER GALVIN	Bardes Interiors/Harrison Street Capital LLC
RON GIDWITZ	GCG Partners
GLADIE & RAYMOND V. GILMARTIN	Merck and Co. Inc. (retired)
HARVEY GOLUB	American Express Co. (retired)/Miller Buckfire & Company
LORIE & HENRY GORDON	Strata Resources Inc.
CAROLYN & OLIVER GRACE	Associated Asset Management Inc.
JOYCE & JUDSON GREEN	
ROBERT F. GREENHILL	Greenhill & Co. Inc.
ALLISON & DONALD GULBRANDSEN	Gulbrandsen Companies
ANN & JON HAMMES	Hammes Company
FRANK J. HANNA	Hanna Capital LLC
YVONNE & KENNETH HANNAN	Colonial Navigation Co. Inc.
DEE BAGWELL HASLAM	Cleveland Browns
JIMMY HASLAM	Pilot Travel Centers LLC
KERRY HEALEY	Babson College
JULIE K. & KENNETH HERSH	George W. Bush Presidential Center

SUSAN & ROGER HERTOG  
 HELEN SKADE & EDWARD R. HINTZ  
 MARY & DOUGLAS HSU  
 KATHY & ALLAN B. HUBBARD  
 JULIE & MARTIN P. HUGHES  
 PATTI & JERRY HUME  
 JOHN HURLEY  
 KAREN & PAUL ISAAC  
 NANCY DUNLAP & JOHN D. JOHNS  
 MICHELE KANG  
 NYSSA & WILLIAM KOURAKOS  
 HILLARY & RODGER KROUSE  
 KARIN & JOHN KUKRAL  
 CORY & BILL LAVERACK  
 SHARON & PHIL LEBHERZ  
 LIN LINDA CHIH & DAVID LEE  
 SYLVIE LÉGÈRE & TODD RICKETTS  
 SUSAN & RICHARD LENNY  
 MARC LIPSCHULTZ  
 DANIEL S. LOEB  
 JOE LONSDALE  
 KATHLEEN & JOHN LUKE  
 LAURA & SCOTT LUTTRELL  
 DUNCAN MACLEAN  
 RICHARD MAGNUSON  
 MICHAEL MARTINO  
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 ROBERT MCCORMACK  
 BONNIE MCELVEEN-HUNTER  
 BILLIE & ROSS MCKNIGHT  
 THOMAS MCWILLIAMS  
 MIKE MEECE  
 KENNETH MEHLMAN  
 KATHIE & JOHN MILLIGAN  
 MIMI & ROBERT S. MURLEY  
 ALEX NAVAB  
 CHARLENE & PAT NEAL  
 MINA NGUYEN  
 LYNN & DAVID NICHOLSON  
 SUSAN & WILLIAM OBERNDORF  
 HILDA OCHOA-BRILLEMBOURG  
 & ARTURO BRILLEMBOURG  
 HEIDI & RICHARD ONG  
 JO ANN & PAUL OREFFICE  
 ALEXANDRA & SEAN PARKER  
 SARAH & ROSS PEROT JR.  
 TINA & STEVEN PRICE

Hertog Foundation  
 Hintz Capital Management  
 Far Eastern Group  
 E&A Companies  
 HUB International  
 Basic American Inc.  
 Cavalry Asset Management  
 Arbiter Partners  
 Protective Life Corporation  
 Cognosante  
 Perella Weinberg Partners  
 Sun Capital Partners Inc.  
 Northwood Investors LLC  
 Laverack Capital Partners LLC  
 Pointcare LLC/Lebherz Insurance Services Inc.  
 Foreign Minister of Taiwan  
 The Policy Circle/Chicago Cubs  
 Information Resources Inc.  
 Owl Rock Capital Partners  
 Third Point LLC  
 BVC  
 WestRock Company  
 LCM Group  
 MacLean-Fogg Company  
 GI Partners  
 Mason Capital Management LLC  
 Metropolitan Opera/M. H. Massey & Co. LLC  
 Trident Capital LLC  
 Pace Communications Inc.  
 Olney Bancshares of Texas  
 Court Square Capital Partners  
 Office of George W. Bush  
 Kohlberg Kravis Roberts  
 Gilead Sciences Inc.  
 Credit Suisse  
 Kohlberg Kravis Roberts  
 Pure Style/Neal Communities  
 AQR Capital Management  
 The Stiles-Nicholson Foundation  
 Oberndorf Enterprises  
  
 Strategic Investment Group/Farmington Asset Management  
 Eagle Capital Management  
 Dow Chemical Company (retired)  
 The Parker Foundation  
 Perot Systems Corporation  
 Townsquare Media Inc.

ANNE & ROBERT RAYMOND  
 LAURA & GEOFFREY S. REHNERT  
 LAURA C. & ROBERT L. REYNOLDS  
 LINNEA & GEORGE R. ROBERTS  
 ALLISON & RICHARD ROEDER  
 SONYA A. & JOHN D. ROOD  
 LISA & MATTHEW K. ROSE  
 ROBERT ROSENKRANZ  
 PEGGY & ROBERT ROTHMAN  
 LEE ANN & PETER RUMMELL  
 SALLY & ED RUST  
 ALEXANDER SAINT-AMAND  
 NATHAN E. SAINT-AMAND  
 ERIC SCHMIDT  
 ELLYN & ALAN SEELINFREUND  
 BETTY & MEL SEMBLER  
 MARTHA & JAMES M. SENEFF  
 CAMPBELL BROWN & DAN SENOR  
 SABINE & GREGG SHERRILL  
 JEFFREY SILVERMAN  
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 VICKIE & DAVID SMICK  
 DIANE & THOMAS SMITH  
 LINDA & WILLIAM S. STAVROPOULOS  
 BARRY STERNLICHT  
 CINDY & SHELDON STONE  
 MICHAEL SULLIVAN  
 A. G. SULZBERGER  
 BARBARA B. & WILSON H. TAYLOR  
 ELIZABETH & RYAN P. TAYLOR  
 FRANCES & RONALD TERWILLIGER  
 CARL THOMA  
 GWENDOLYN VAN PAASSCHEN  
 JANET & CHRISTOPHER VINCZE  
 ECKART VON KLAEDEN  
 THEODORA D. & WILLIAM H. WALTON  
 AMY & LESLIE WARE  
 HEATHER & RAY W. WASHBURNE  
 GREGORY W. WENDT  
 LINDA L. & JEFFREY L. WYLER  
 GLENN A. YOUNGKIN  
 SCOTT ZAJAC  
 MARK ZUCKERBERG

Crow Holdings/Raymond Design LP  
 Audax Group  
 Putnam Investments  
 Kohlberg Kravis Roberts  
 Vance Street Capital  
 The Vestcor Companies Inc.  
 BNSF Railway Company  
 Delphi Financial Group  
 Black Diamond Capital  
 RummellMunz Partners  
 State Farm Insurance Companies  
 GLG Inc.  
 American Academy of Allergy, Asthma & Immunology  
 Google Inc.  
 McKesson Corporation (retired)  
 The Sembler Company  
 CNL Financial Group Inc.  
 Facebook/Elliott Management Corporation  
 Tenneco Inc.  
 Agman Partners  
 Vector Capital  
 Johnson Smick International Inc.  
 Prescott Investors Inc.  
 The Dow Chemical Company  
 Starwood Capital Group  
 Oaktree Capital Investments  
 Point72 Asset Management LP  
*New York Times*  
 Cigna Corporation  
 Richmond Hill Investment Company LP  
 Terwilliger Pappas Multifamily Properties  
 Thoma Bravo LLC  
 John Brookes Design  
 TRC Companies Inc.  
 Daimler AG  
 Rockpoint Group LLC  
 PanOptis Patent Management  
 Highland Park Village  
 Capital Research Global Investors  
 Jeff Wyler Automotive Family Inc.  
 The Carlyle Group  
 Rockwood Management Corporation  
 Facebook

**AEI SCHOLARS AND EXECUTIVES**

LEON ARON	Director, Russian Studies; Resident Scholar
ROBERT BARRO	John H. Makin Visiting Scholar
JASON BERTSCH	Senior Vice President, Development and Communications
DAN BLUMENTHAL	Director, Asian Studies; Resident Fellow
JOHN BOLTON	Senior Fellow
KARLYN BOWMAN	Senior Fellow
ARTHUR BROOKS	President; Beth and Ravenel Curry Scholar in Free Enterprise
LYNNE CHENEY	Senior Fellow
ROBERT DOAR	Morgridge Fellow in Poverty Studies; Resident Fellow
THOMAS DONNELLY	Codirector, Marilyn Ware Center for Security Studies; Resident Fellow
MACKENZIE EAGLEN	Resident Fellow, Marilyn Ware Center for Security Studies
NICK EBERSTADT	Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy
DAVID GERSON	Executive Vice President
JONAH GOLDBERG	Fellow
SCOTT GOTTLIEB	Resident Fellow
KEVIN HASSETT	Director, Research for Domestic Policy; State Farm James Q. Wilson Chair in American Politics and Culture
FREDERICK KAGAN	Director, Critical Threats Project; Christopher DeMuth Chair
KIRSTEN MADISON	Deputy Director, Foreign and Defense Policy Studies; Resident Fellow
RACHEL MCCLEARY	Visiting Scholar
CHARLES MURRAY	W. H. Brady Scholar
JAMES PETHOKOUKIS	Editor, AEIdeas; DeWitt Wallace Fellow
DANIELLE PLETKA	Senior Vice President, Foreign and Defense Policy Studies
RAMESH PONNURU	Visiting Fellow
GERARD ROBINSON	Resident Fellow
DEREK SCISSIONS	Resident Scholar
ANDREW SMARICK	Resident Fellow
TOBY STOCK	Vice President, Development and Academic Programs
MICHAEL STRAIN	Director, Economic Policy Studies; Resident Scholar
RYAN STREETER	Director, Domestic Policy Studies
MARC THIESSEN	Resident Fellow
STAN VEUGER	Resident Scholar
PETER WALLISON	Arthur F. Burns Fellow in Financial Policy Studies; Senior Fellow
PAUL WOLFOWITZ	Visiting Scholar

## SPOUSES AND GUESTS

LIZ BOARDMAN  
GRETCHEN BOLTON  
IRINA BOROCHAN  
JAMES BOWMAN  
ESTER BROOKS  
ANNE CASE  
SANDY CORNYN  
CATHERINE COX  
TOM DAFFRON  
MATTHEW DYCKMAN  
ANDREA ELLIOTT  
KATE FELDSTEIN  
LAUREN FINEFIELD  
BRUCE FISCHER  
CHERYL FLAKE  
JESSICA GAVORA  
EVE GERBER

JENNIFER GERSON  
ALLYSON GOTTLIEB  
WENDY GRAMM  
ROB GRANIERI  
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JILL HAMILTON  
JEANINE HAYDEN  
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CONSTANCE HUBBARD  
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SHARON LEE  
LOUISA LOMBARD  
APRIL MCCLAIN-DELANEY  
JANE MOSS  
BONNIE PERDUE  
AN PHAM

APRIL PONNURU  
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MANDY SELIGMAN  
JAMES STERNLICHT  
MARCIA STRAUSS  
PAM THIESSEN  
SALLY THORNBERRY  
AMEY UPTON  
FRIEDA WALLISON  
BRAD WENDT  
MARK WOOTERS

If you have any questions regarding the World Forum during your stay,  
please contact the AEI World Forum Office.

Hours: March 8-12, 7:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Phone: 912.634.3200



# WORLD FORUM

October 5, 2016

The Honorable Susan M. Collins  
United States Senate  
413 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510-1904

Dear Senator Collins:

I am writing to invite you to participate in the American Enterprise Institute's World Forum, which will be held March 9-12, 2017, at Sea Island, Georgia.

For the past three decades, the World Forum has offered a productive environment for many of the world's most eminent business leaders, policymakers, and scholars to discuss and develop solutions to complex policy problems in economics, foreign affairs, and other pressing areas of national concern. Many of our guests describe it as the most important gathering of the year in the realm of politics and policy.

The 2017 Forum's off-the-record discussions will be candid, timely, and highly informative. The enclosed program highlights the breadth of distinguished government, media, and academic leaders from around the world who contributed to these discussions at the previous Forum.

Your participation as a speaker would bring a valuable perspective to our discussions and to our pursuit of a better, safer, and more prosperous world. We want to bring the best minds together for our upcoming Forum, so I hope you will seriously consider joining us next March. Specific information on your participation as a speaker will be provided closer to the date of the Forum.

If you would like more information about the 2017 AEI World Forum, please do not hesitate to contact me at 202.419.5213 or [arthur.brooks@aei.org](mailto:arthur.brooks@aei.org).

Warm regards,



Arthur Brooks  
President  
American Enterprise Institute

Enclosures



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JOHNNY ISAKSON, GEORGIA, CHAIRMAN  
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JEANNE SHAHEEN, NEW HAMPSHIRE  
DEBORAH SUE MAYER, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR  
EMILY GERSHON, CHIEF CLERK

HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM 220  
SECOND AND CONSTITUTION AVENUE, NE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6426

TELEPHONE: (202) 224-2981  
FACSIMILE: (202) 224-7416  
TDD: (202) 226-3762

## United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

March 2, 2017

The Honorable Susan Collins  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Collins:

This responds to your recent correspondence concerning an invitation you received to travel to the World Forum, in Sea Island, Georgia on March 10-12, 2017, sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). AEI certified to the Select Committee on Ethics (the Committee) that it will pay the *necessary expenses*<sup>1</sup> related to the travel and that it is neither a lobbyist, nor lobbying firm, nor an agent of a foreign principal, and it is not otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government. AEI has also certified that it does not retain or employ a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal, and that no registered lobbyist will accompany you at *any point throughout your trip*.<sup>2</sup>

Based on information and materials available to the Committee, and consistent with the guidance contained in this letter regarding extending your trip for a personal purpose, and assuming the actual travel and travel-related expenses conform to the information and materials you provided, it appears that the proposed payment or reimbursement of necessary expenses for this trip may be accepted under relevant Senate Rules and the Committee's *Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel*, so long as at the time of the payment or reimbursement, AEI is neither a registered lobbyist nor lobbying firm under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, nor an agent of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (and is not otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government), and provided the travel and all required documents are disclosed to the Secretary of the Senate in accordance with the provisions of Senate Rules 34 and 35.

Under Senate Rule 35, a Senator or officer who receives payment or reimbursement for necessary expenses related to fact-finding travel must disclose those expenses to the Secretary of the Senate by filing the completed *Senators and Officers Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses* (Form RE-3), along with a copy of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form*, and all relevant attachments (e.g., the private sponsor's invitation and itinerary) **within 30 days of the conclusion of Privately-Sponsored Travel**.

<sup>1</sup> The term "necessary expenses" has a specific definition. See *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 8.

<sup>2</sup> The term "any point throughout your trip" has a specific definition. See *id.* at 2.

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Finally, Senate Rule 34 requires a reporting Member, on his or her Financial Disclosure Report, to make an annual disclosure of the receipt of payments or reimbursements under Senate Rule 35 from a private sponsor for officially-related travel expenses where, in the aggregate, travel expenses exceed \$390 from that sponsor during a calendar year. However, if a Member, officer, or employee properly reports the receipt of necessary expenses for such travel to the Secretary of the Senate within 30 days of the travel, as discussed above, the travel expenses need not be disclosed a second time on their annual Financial Disclosure Report.

I hope you find this information helpful. If you have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee.

Sincerely,



Deborah Sue Mayer  
Chief Counsel and Staff Director

Enclosure: Travel Checklist

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## PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): The American Enterprise Institute
2. Description of the trip: World Forum: off the record public policy briefings
3. Dates of travel: March 9-12, 2017
4. Place of travel: Sea Island, GA
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Sen. Susan Collins, and please see attached invitee list.
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:  
☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.  
-OR-  
☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.  
-AND-  
☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:  
☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.  
-AND-  
☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

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9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

- ☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

— OR —

- ☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).

— OR —

- ☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

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11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

AEI organizes the trip and plans the agenda, while AEI scholars lead panel discussions on policy issues.

AEI is responsible for all the logistical aspects of getting the Senator to and from the conference.

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

AEI is a non-profit, tax-exempt, public policy research organization. The World Forum seeks to encourage

frank and free-ranging conversations over a number of public policy issues important to today's world. AEI

expects the Forum to inspire ideas that expand human dignity and human potential at home and abroad.

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

This is the 36th year of the World Forum. Each Forum, AEI invites a number of public officials to join the

conversation. Members from both the House and the Senate regularly attend.

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15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

AEI hosts around 250 public events each year. In addition to distributing other educational materials via online resources, including the AEI website and emails. These products cover a number of topics and seek to encourage the competition of ideas.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate  <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	\$740 (\$320 airfare, \$420 ground transportation)	\$1467.70 per 3 night stay.  (\$480.23 per 1 night stay)	Max: \$200 for 8 meals.  (\$25/meal, 8 meals)	N/A

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

This trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation.

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

The hotel is in close proximity to East Coast and easily accessible by multiple airports.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

The Cloister at Sea Island.

100 Cloister Drive, Sea Island, Georgia 31561

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

The hotel is in close proximity to East Coast and easily accessible by multiple airports.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Please see attached.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Commercial air travel - Economy (coach class)

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

N/A

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for each travel sponsor.):

Signature of Travel Sponsor:



Name and Title: Jessica Browning, Director of Conferences

Name of Organization: The American Enterprise Institute

Address: 1789 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036

Telephone Number: 202.862.5853

Fax Number: 202.862.7171

E-mail Address: jbrowning@aei.org

AEI WORLD FORUM, March 9-12, Sea Island, Georgia

**ADDENDUM: Question 21:**

The lodging cost per day (\$489.23/night) is higher than the per diem rate of the area. Senate participants will be placed in standard rooms. Since this is a large conference, this was the lowest cost and closest to the per diem rate that AEI could secure, given the hotel's prices. The cost of meals (\$25/meal) reflects the catering cost charged to AEI by the hotel. Alcohol is not included. This trip was arranged without regard to congressional participation, and we verify that no special treatment was given to members in either lodging or food.



## AGENDA AT A GLANCE

### THURSDAY, MARCH 9

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All day	Registration
6:00–7:00 p.m.	Reception
7:00–8:15 p.m.	Dinner
8:30–9:30 p.m.	Starlight Chats

### FRIDAY, MARCH 10

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7:30–8:30 a.m.	Early Bird Breakfasts
8:45–10:15 a.m.	Breakout Sessions
10:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.	General Session
12:15–1:45 p.m.	Luncheon
2:00–4:00 p.m.	Afternoon Activities
5:00–5:30 p.m.	Reception
5:30–6:30 p.m.	Dinner Conversation
6:30–8:30 p.m.	Dinner
8:30–9:30 p.m.	Starlight Chats

### SATURDAY, MARCH 11

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7:30–8:30 a.m.	Early Bird Breakfasts
8:45–10:15 a.m.	Breakout Sessions
10:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.	General Session
12:15–1:45 p.m.	Luncheon
2:00–3:15 p.m.	Breakout Sessions
6:00–6:30 p.m.	Reception
6:30–7:30 p.m.	Dinner Conversation
7:45–9:00 p.m.	Dinner
9:00–10:00 p.m.	Starlight Chat

### SUNDAY, MARCH 12

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8:00–9:30 a.m.	Early Bird Breakfasts
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**KEYNOTE FEATURED SPEAKER:** GEORGE W. BUSH, 43rd President of the United States

**GENERAL (RET) T. MICHAEL MOSELEY**  
Chief of Staff, US Air Force (retired)

**PETER NAVARRO**  
Director of Trade and Industrial Policy, the White House

**DEVIN NUNES**  
US House of Representatives (R-CA)

**DAVID PERDUE**  
US Senate (R-GA)

**PAUL ROMER**  
Chief Economist, World Bank

**WILLIAM ROPER**  
Director, Strategic Capabilities Office,  
US Department of Defense

**MARCO RUBIO**  
US Senate (R-FL)

**PAUL RYAN**  
Speaker, US House of Representatives (R-WI)

**BEN SASSE**  
US Senate (R-NE)

**MARTIN SELIGMAN**  
Director, Positive Psychology Center, University of  
Pennsylvania

**ANDREI SOLDATOV**  
Cofounder, Agentura.ru

**GENE SPERLING**  
Former Director, National Economic Council

**BARRY STRAUSS**  
Professor, Cornell University

**MAC THORNBERRY**  
US House of Representatives (R-TX)

**FRED UPTON**  
US House of Representatives (R-MI)

**GREG WALDEN**  
US House of Representatives (R-OR)

**SCOTT WALKER**  
Governor of Wisconsin

**KEVIN WARSH**  
Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution

**GEORGE WILL**  
Columnist, *Washington Post*

**GRAEME WOOD**  
National Correspondent, *Atlantic*

**TODD YOUNG**  
US House of Representatives (R-IN)

**MARK ZANDI**  
Chief Economist, Moody's Analytics









## 2017 AEI Scholars and Executives

LEON ARON  
Director, Russian Studies; Resident Scholar

John H. Makin Visiting Scholar

Senior Vice President, Development and Communications

Director, Asian Studies; Resident Fellow

Senior Fellow

Senior Fellow

President; Beth and Ravenel Curry Scholar in Free Enterprise

**Senior Fellow**

Morgridge Fellow in Poverty Studies; Resident Fellow

Codirector, Marilyn Ware Center for Security Studies; Resident Fellow

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**Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy**

**Executive Vice President**

Fellow

Resident Fellow

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James O. Wilson Chair in American Politics and  
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Director, Critical Threats Project; Christopher DeMuth Chair

Deputy Director, Foreign and Defense Policy  
Studies: Resident Fellow

W. H. Brady Scholar

Editor, AEldeas; DeWitt Wallace Fellow

Senior Vice President, Foreign and Defense Policy  
Studies

Visiting Fellow

**Resident Fellow**

Resident Scholar

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Vice President, Development and Academic Programs

Director, Economic Policy Studies; Resident Scholar

Director, Domestic Policy Studies

Resident Fellow

Resident Scholar

Arthur F. Burns, Fellow in Financial Policy Studies;  
Senior Fellow